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memorial to Washington. The Universal Peace Union could tell of *first* things. And Mr. Smiley of Mohonk fame. What a multitude of *first* suggestions there were, by individuals and by societies, a year and more ago, after the Venezuela flurry, for meetings and conferences, for resolutions and petitions, in favor of permanent peace with Great Britain! The American Peace Society, which has done whole decades of work without sounding a trumpet before it, or behind it, might also, speaking after the manner of men, mention some *firsts*. Its President and Secretary might tell of a *first* and a *second* interview with the late Secretary Gresham, immediately after which the negotiations for the treaty of arbitration with Great Britain, as is now known, were first begun by him. The honor role in this first movement of the time is a long one. Let us not forget the difficult honors of those on whose foundations we are building.

#### TEXT OF THE ARBITRATION TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN.

Signed at Washington the 11th of January, 1897, by RICHARD OLNEY and SIR JULIAN PAUNCEFOTE.

The United States of America and her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, being desirous of consolidating the relations of amity which so happily exist between them and of consecrating by treaty the people to international arbitration, have appointed for that purpose as their respective plenipotentiaries:

The President of the United States of America, Hon. Richard Olney, Secretary of State of the United States, and her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Hon. Sir Julian Pauncefote, a member of her Majesty's most honorable Privy Council, knight grand cross of the most honorable Order of the Bath, and of the most distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, and her Majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the United States, who after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, which were found to be in due and proper form, have agreed to and concluded the following articles:

##### ARTICLE I.

The high contracting parties agree to submit to arbitration in accordance with the provisions and subject to the limitations of this treaty all questions in difference between them which they may fail to adjust by diplomatic negotiation.

##### ARTICLE II.

All pecuniary claims or groups of pecuniary claims which do not in the aggregate exceed £100,000 in amount and which do not involve the determination of territorial claims, shall be dealt with and decided by an arbitral tribunal constituted as provided in the next following article. In this article and in article 4 the words "groups of pecuniary claims" mean pecuniary claims by one or more persons arising out of some transactions or involving the same issues of law and of fact.

##### ARTICLE III.

Each of the high contracting parties shall nominate one arbitrator, who shall be a jurist of repute, and the two arbitrators so nominated shall within two months of the date of their nomination select an umpire. In case they shall fail to do so within the limit of time above mentioned the umpire shall be appointed by agreement between the members for the time being of the Supreme Court of the United States and the members for the time being of the judicial committee of the privy council in Great Britain, each nominating body acting by a majority.

In case they shall fail to agree upon an umpire within three months of the date of an application made to them in that behalf by the high contracting parties or either of them, the umpire shall be selected in the manner provided for in article 10. The person so selected shall be the president of the tribunal and the award of the majority of the members thereof shall be final.

##### ARTICLE IV.

All pecuniary claims or groups of pecuniary claims which shall exceed £100,000 in amount and all other matters in difference, in respect of which either of the high contracting parties shall have rights against the other under treaty or otherwise, provided that such matters in difference do not involve the determination of territorial claims, shall be dealt with and decided by an arbitral tribunal constituted as provided in the next following article:

##### ARTICLE V.

Any subject of arbitration described in article 4 shall be submitted to the tribunal provided for by article 3, the award of which tribunal, if unanimous, shall be final. If not unanimous either of the contracting parties may within six months from date of the award demand a review thereof. In such case the matter in controversy shall be submitted to an arbitral tribunal consisting of five jurists of repute, no one of whom shall have been a member of the tribunal whose award is to be reviewed and who shall be selected as follows:

Two by each of the high contracting parties and one to act as umpire, by the four thus nominated and to be chosen within three months after the date of their nomination. In case they shall fail to choose an umpire within the limit of time above mentioned, the umpire shall be appointed by agreement between the nominating bodies designated in article 3, acting in the manner therein provided. In case they fail to agree upon an umpire within three months of the date of an application made to them in that behalf by the high contracting parties, or either of them, the umpire shall be selected in the manner provided for in article 10.

The person so selected shall be the president of the tribunal, and the award of the majority of the members thereof shall be final.

##### ARTICLE VI.

Any controversy which shall involve the determination of territorial claims shall be submitted to a tribunal composed of six members, three of whom (subject to the provisions of article 8) shall be judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, or justices of the Circuit Courts, to be nominated by the President of the United States, and the other three of whom (subject to the pro-

visions of article 8) shall be judges of the British Supreme Court of Judicature or members of the judicial committee of the Privy Council, to be nominated by her Britannic Majesty, whose award by a majority of not less than five to one shall be final. In case of an award made by less than the prescribed majority, the award shall also be final unless either power shall, within three months after the award has been reported, protest that the same is erroneous, in which case the award shall be of no validity. In the event of an award made by less than the prescribed majority, and protested as above provided, or if the members of the arbitral tribunal shall be equally divided, there shall be no recourse to hostile measures of any description until the mediation of one or more friendly powers has been invited by one or both of the high contracting parties.

## ARTICLE VII.

Objections to the jurisdiction of an arbitral tribunal constituted under this treaty shall not be taken except as provided in this article. If before the close of the hearing upon a claim submitted to an arbitral tribunal constituted under article 3 or article 5 either of the high contracting parties shall move such tribunal to decide, and thereupon it shall decide, that the determination of such claim necessarily involves the decision of a disputed question of principle of grave general importance affecting the national rights of such party as distinguished from the private rights whereof it is merely the international representative, the jurisdiction of such arbitral tribunal over such claim shall cease, and the same shall be dealt with by arbitration, under article 6.

## ARTICLE VIII.

In case where the question involved is one which concerns a particular State or Territory of the United States it shall be open to the President of the United States to appoint a judicial officer of such State or Territory to be one of the arbitrators, under article 3 or article 5 or article 6. In like manner, in cases where the question involved is one which concerns a British colony or possession it shall be open to her Britannic majesty to appoint a judicial officer of such colony or possession to be one of the arbitrators, under article 3 or article 5 or article 6.

## ARTICLE IX.

Territorial claims in this treaty shall include all claims to territory and all other claims involving questions of servitude, rights of navigation and of access, fisheries, and all rights and interests necessary to the control and enjoyment of the territory claimed by either of the high contracting parties.

## ARTICLE X.

If in any case the nominating bodies designated in articles 3 and 5 shall fail to agree upon an umpire in accordance with the provisions of said article, the umpire shall be appointed by his majesty, the King of Sweden and Norway.

Either of the high contracting parties, however, may at any time give notice to the other that, by reason of material changes in conditions as existing at the date of this treaty, it is of opinion that a substitute for his majesty should be chosen either for all cases to arise under the treaty or for a particular specified case already arisen, and thereupon the high contracting parties shall at once proceed to agree upon such substitute to act either in all

cases to arise under the treaty or in the particular case specified as may be indicated in said notice; provided, however, that such notice shall have no effect upon an arbitration already begun by the constitution of an arbitral tribunal under article 3.

The high contracting parties shall at once proceed to nominate a substitute for his majesty in the event that his majesty shall at any time notify them of his desire to be relieved from the functions graciously accepted by him under this treaty, either for all cases to arise thereunder or for any particular specified case already arisen.

## ARTICLE XI.

In case of the death, absence, or incapacity to serve of any arbitrator or umpire, or in the event of any arbitrator or umpire omitting, or declining, or ceasing to act as such, another arbitrator or umpire shall be forthwith appointed in his place and stead in the manner provided for with regard to the original appointment.

## ARTICLE XII.

Each Government shall pay its own agent and provide for the proper remuneration of the counsel employed by it and of the arbitrators appointed by it and for the expense of preparing and submitting its case to the arbitral tribunal. All other expense connected with any arbitration shall be defrayed by the two governments in equal moieties.

Provided, however, that if in any case the essential matter of difference submitted to arbitration is the right of one of the high contracting parties to receive disavowals of or apologies for acts or defaults of the other not resulting in substantial pecuniary injury, the arbitral tribunal finally disposing of the said matter, shall direct whether any of the expenses of the successful party, shall be borne by the unsuccessful party, and if so to what extent.

## ARTICLE XIII.

The time and place of meeting of an arbitral tribunal and all arrangements for the hearing and all questions of procedure shall be decided by the tribunal itself. Each arbitral tribunal shall keep a correct record of its proceedings and may appoint and employ all necessary officers and agents.

The decision of the tribunal shall, if possible, be made within three months from the close of the arguments on both sides. It shall be made in writing and dated and shall be signed by the arbitrators who may assent to it.

The decision shall be in duplicate, one copy whereof shall be delivered to each of the high contracting parties through their respective agents.

## ARTICLE XIV.

This treaty shall remain in force for five years from the date at which it shall come into operation, and further until the expiration of twelve months after either of the high contracting parties shall have given notice to the other of its wish to terminate the same.

## ARTICLE XV.

The present treaty shall be duly ratified by the President of the United States by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by her Britannic majesty; and the mutual exchange of ratifications shall take place in Washington or in London within six months of the date hereof or earlier if possible.

In faith whereof, we, the respective plenipotentiaries, have signed this treaty and hereunto affixed our seals.

Done in duplicate at Washington the eleventh day of January, 1897.

#### CORRESPONDENCE.

One of the leading peace workers of Great Britain, just before the signing of the treaty of arbitration, wrote as follows to the editor of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*:

"We have, indeed, much to encourage us in our good work. Our two societies have together for a very long period of time borne their testimony and carried on their work on both sides of the Atlantic, and at last there seems to be some substantial and permanent result to follow their efforts, which is none the less satisfactory that others are sharing in its accomplishment. It was never expected that the peace societies would do everything. The utmost they can accomplish is to stir up others to act, in whose power the action lies, and to make the voice of truth and reason heard. So far as our two countries are concerned this has been done, and we may well rejoice together. I only hope that nothing will interrupt the conclusion both of the Venezuela matter and the permanent treaty between you and us. I am not pessimistic; very much the contrary. For I have not the slightest doubt concerning the ultimate triumph of our principles and attainment of our goal. But as to any particular question or effort I never feel sure, for I know that the odds against us are tremendous; the brute in man is not so easily overcome; prejudice and self-interest die hard; and the classes associated with the maintenance of the military system will resist as long as possible, and they are most vigilant and active always.

The Jingo, to whom you refer, are a species of animal to be found, unfortunately, in all countries, and they will snarl and fight wherever there is a bone to quarrel over.

Our work is not ended yet, my brother. May the Good Lord give us wisdom and persistency that we may put ourselves into the work of His Kingdom, even though death may surprise us without the attainment of any large result. May we have faith in His Kingdom as having already come. I feel the need of this more and more. I am no subject of Caesar's, though I cheerfully submit to his authority as chief magistrate. I admit but one sovereign, Jesus Christ. So I say faith in His Kingdom as already here, and as coming more and more continually, though "without observation." It is this faith which sustains me daily in our otherwise hopeless, but as it is, most hopeful, aye certain task.

The outlook on this side is not altogether reassuring. The rulers have indulged in their usual New Year's patronage of peace, but are all the while preparing and holding themselves in readiness for war. In our own country the party move, which sought to turn to its advantage a noble sentiment of humanity stirred by the sufferings and atrocities in Armenia, has so far proved abortive,—was indeed thwarted by the very sentiment to which it appealed, and which refused to be partisan. It has therefore, hushed, for the time being, its cry for isolated action and for war. But it is there, and when Parliament meets and the Government reports, it will again bestir itself and endeavor to repeat party advantage from anything that may offer. The disappointing thing, to us, is that so many of our friends — our peace friends, I mean, — are involved in it."

#### LETTER FROM HODGSON PRATT.

VILLA CHATILLON: LAUSANNE, SWITZERLAND,  
January 15, 1897.

DEAR FRIEND: It was my intention to write to you at Christmas time expressing my sincere wishes for your personal happiness and (which is the same thing) for success in all your efforts for the great cause to which you devote your life. An attack of indisposition, however, has delayed my letter to you, as well as to many other friends in the States.

And now comes the joyful news of an event which will make the year 1897 for ever celebrated throughout the world. It seems as if we really had entered on a new and better era,—and that the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon family had inaugurated a change in human affairs which must have an *echo* in Heaven itself. One is grateful for having been permitted to live long enough to see that eleventh day of January, 1897.

But I feel less surprise than I should have done *had I not visited Mohonk, Washington, Philadelphia and Boston*. That insight into the American character was a revelation to me; and gave me five happiest weeks of my life. When I left you at Boston on the Fourth of July, I said to myself: I have indeed seen "a New World",—a world of men where I found *another England*, men inspired by and trained in the same root ideas as the men of *Old England*—but *with a difference*. You all seemed to me so *much younger*, with the *vivacity*, the unreserve, the bright hopefulness, the confident idealism which are the great joy of *youth*.

With all that youthfulness of heart, I found a strength of purpose, a clear sightedness,—a determination to do what you found it right and necessary to do, regardless of all obstacles. It was an experience so delightful that I felt tempted to do nothing and say nothing,—but only to listen and observe and learn. Never have I attended any public Conference where the whole of the speakers seemed thoroughly up to the mark, so clear and convinced in ideas, with such power of clear and unhesitating statement. This impression was overwhelming; and, through all those three days of debate, I regretted that England had not sent someone better fitted to represent her, both as thinker and orator. I felt almost as if I were doing her an injustice!

And what can I say of the exceeding kindness of these dear "American cousins" which followed me everywhere? Well, I felt quite unworthy of such honour and such constant attentions as I received; but I found it *all right*,—when I considered that it was the *cause*, not the *individual* which was in question. Still, there was a frank heartiness, an unreserved cordiality which made those busy days delightful. How I wish I could adequately express my gratitude for the brotherly friendship which I found on all hands! May the glorious event which has taken place at Washington bring the two nations into closer and closer relations of mutual esteem and mutual service, as the years go by! They have given an eternal example of faith in great principles, and of faith in each other. They have declared aloud to the world: "We believe that the families of mankind were made to help each other to rise to higher and higher planes of Righteousness; and we have shown the sincerity of our belief by a compact for all time."

Then let co-operation—not conflict, be the Ideal of